2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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3. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-nu, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-kil'-ken, Old Shin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-kre[illegible]har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Oo-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[133] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[134] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuknit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilos for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[135] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature is common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[136] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[133] Harrington, 1913, p. 310.
[134] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[135] Harrington, 1913, p. 310; O.A., J.T.
[136] Speck, 1931, p. 78.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying:

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum . . . late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner . . . a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it.

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 173.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-52; Brinton, 1885, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-52.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1683, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 338, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 116, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 23).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149). 525 [526] 535 517

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59). 23

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages. 621 619 619 615

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which 614

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 623 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Ruttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminence over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 230); Kalm (p. 606); Zeisberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

CHAPTER V

UNAMI ANNUAL CEREMONY

THE LEADER

THE great Annual Ceremony of the Lenape now in Oklahoma was and is held when the leaves turn yellow in the fall of the year, usually, according to the "pale face" reckoning, some time between the tenth and twentieth of October. It is not exactly a tribal affair, although the whole tribe participates, but must be undertaken by some certain individual of the proper qualifications who takes the responsibility of "bringing in" the meeting and acting as a leader.

The phratry to which this leader belongs determines the exact form of the ceremonies to be held; for each totemic group has a ritual of its own, that of the Wolf, which is

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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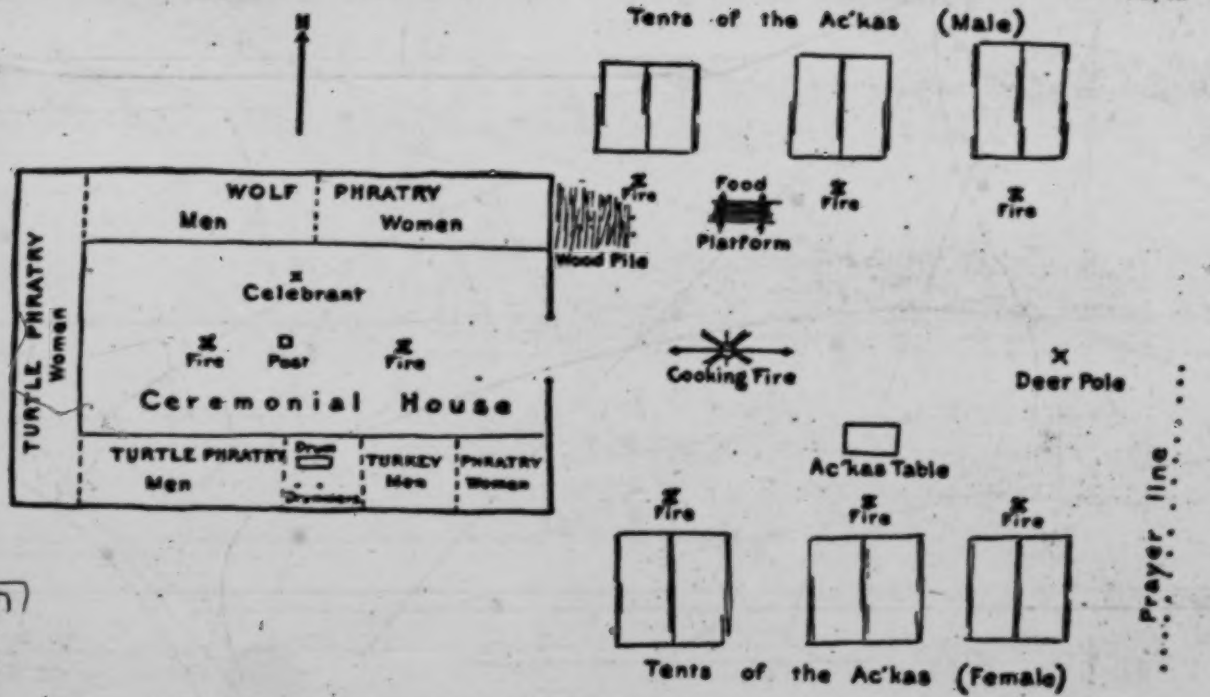
here related, differing in some particulars from the ceremonies as practised by the Turtle or Turkey people. In former times, it is said, when one phratry had finished its twelve days of ceremonies, another would enact theirs, followed by the third; but at present qualified leaders are so few that it seldom if ever happens that more than one of them feels able to accept such exacting duties in any one year.

This leader it is who sends a messenger forth to notify the people what day the ceremonies are to commence and to invite them all to attend.

Several days before the date the wagons begin to roll in and a white village of tents springs up about the gray walls of the old Big House, temple, or *xi'ngwikan* (pl. v), standing on the banks of Little Caney river, north of Dewey in northern Oklahoma, far from any human habitation.

Built of rough logs, the Big House is now provided with a roof of hand-split shingles pierced by two great smoke-holes, as shown in the frontispiece and in



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

[Facing p. 94]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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front of the man who, as the Indians phrase it, "brought on the meeting." The backs of the turtleshells are all measured with strings of wampum, which are cut off in lengths corresponding with the lengths of the backs.

Then the owners are called to get their turtles and wampum, which is supposed to be their pay for bringing them to the meeting: As each takes up his turtle, he shakes it, and if it does not sound well, then the people laugh, and the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible.

PHRATRY PRAYERS

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Then they call up six men, two from each of the three phratries—Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Each goes outside and cries the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times, holding up his left hand. When the first one returns, he is given one yard of wampum, and divides it with the other five. This is done each night until the end.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pele', the Pukowa'ŋgo, and Tu'k"si·t. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pele', denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ŋgo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'k"si·t, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'i·n, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."[1] Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 100; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

[1] Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).